/9 cont./

114 [101] Our stay in Colombia lasted a year, from August 8, 1952, to August 12, 1953. During this time I worked first under the direction of Herr P. Pedro José Ramirez Sendoya as Investigador at the Instituto Etnológica Nacionál, beginning September 20, 1952, as Jefe de Arqueología at the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología. [126] After several weeks of inventorying the antiquities in the region of San Agustín we traveled to Tierradentro where we collected the field material of the present publication during the period from December 24, 1952, to April 24, 1953.

122 The scientific work in Colombia was financed by the Ministerio de Educación and the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología. On this occasion I should also like to express my sincerest thanks to the then Minister of Education, Herr Dr. Lucio Pabón Nuñez, and to the Director of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, Herr Dr. Antonio Andrade Crispino, for the help rendered. Here I should also like to thank the Vice-President of the Academia de Ciencias Naturales, Herr Prof. Dr. P. Enrique Perez Arbelaez, who, during the early period of my stay in Colombia, smoothed many paths for me. I am no less grateful to the colleagues of the Institute for the scientific help given to me, as well as to the workers in Tierradentro for their diligence in the difficult and, at the beginning of the rainy period, quite unpleasant work of digging.

126 122 For the research and travel equipment, a number of firms generously put material at our disposal. For the photographs published in this book I had the use of a Leica III f with Elmar /10/ 1:3.5 and accessories, as well as a Rolleiflex with Tessar 1:3.5. For special photographic purposes Rodenstock-Heligon 1:2.8 wide-angle lens, a Steinheil-Culminar 1:2.8 telephoto lens, and Proximeters I and II from H. Schneider & Co. were used with the Leica, and with the Rolleiflex the Rolleikin equipment with the Rolleinars 1 and 2. The interior shots of the grave holes and the native houses were taken with Osram SO and Philipps Pf 45 flash bulbs, as well as with Seuthe flash capsultes. Adox KB 17 and R 18, as well as Perutz Perpantic film, served as negative material for the photographs.

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18 who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to [789] kill a bear (éšwiy). One must then rub its fat into the right [237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear. [262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would [828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter [263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed. [237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal- [752] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one [757] must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured limb will heal immediately and will become considerably 224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a 292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (mǒno), [825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on [439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since, ● [126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey 224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyǒmp spirit, but the 776 other men were, for gělyǒmp screams and makes a noise when human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they become quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot do anything to several men together, however, since he could make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let themselves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so 224 776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke 515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyǒmp 783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure [296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed; [824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition, they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu and šáyuts, which they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether [761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by, he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting.

/164 cont./

439 cloth for trousers, and all European clothing. Furthermore, every type of ornament must be bought, such as necklaces, earrings, and finger rings, then cotton, since it is finer and shinier than sheep wool, and aniline dyes for dyeing women's belts and coca bags, since they are more brilliant and clearer than the native vegetable dyes. The trip to market and the necessary trade, however, are not undertaken because of an inclination for business, pleasure in bargaining or in underbidding or outbidding, but out of the necessity to procure an [438] article that they cannot make themselves. If it is at all [797] possible, one tries to buy the required things in the village, for example, from the missionaries, and the purchase with money or the trip to market is, so to speak, the ultima ratio. 437 They do not bargain. The man -- /165/ and it is almost al- 439 ways he who shops -- asks the price, and if it seems too high -- [462] as in most cases -- he says "too expensive." If the tradesman lowers the price, he usually buys; if not, he goes on to the next stand.

The traders are never Paez, but always white and mestizo colonists. They know, of course, about the disinclination of the Paez to bargain, and they charge too high a price to begin with, so as to ask a still inflated normal price after the obligatory "too expensive." Thus the Paez are naturally cheated. They let themselves be too easily dazzled by an attractive display or packaging, for example, by the polish or the silver paper; also a more expensive green or red comb is preferred over a black one. Fortunately, one might say, they never have much money and can therefore never spend too much.

●126 The way in which I was obliged to acquire the women's 439 colored belts for our collection is characteristic. Since every woman possesses only two at the most, one to fasten her skirt and the other to carry her baby, any attempt to buy them was [101] always useless. I had therefore bought at the market in Inzá a few women's belts which are made by the Guambiano, the tribe neighboring the Paez on the west, and are sold in Inzá. [184] They are made of cotton, the white color of which in the freshly

/165 cont./

126 439 184 worked state is considerably more brilliant than the somewhat yellowish sheep wool. Moreover, their aniline dyes gleam much more brightly than the vegetable dyestuffs of the Paez dyes.

126 439 437 Unfortunately, they are shorter than the Paez belts. Nevertheless, the trade was most happily made. The coca pouches of our collection, too, we acquired entirely by way of barter, for example, for a pair of scissors at the Bogotá price of 50 centavos. At the market in Inzá such a pair costs about a peso. The Paez know this. Nevertheless, the same persons who had previously refused a sale for five pesos exchanged a pouch for a pair of scissors. It was the same with eggs. They would not sell them for 20 centavos, but traded them for a wax candle which was available everywhere for five centavos.

43 In the case of their own products, there is no trade from village to village. Nor is there any exchange of certain specialties outside the village, since the initiative for special achievements or the unusual always comes from the colonists or foreign traders. In general the Paez do not buy and sell among themselves, but only barter, since money is used very unwillingly among them. Their idea that an article sold, /166/ for example, an egg, may bring misfortune to the part retained, in this case the chicken, may play a role in this. Moreover, even today paper money is scarcely ever accepted, first because they usually do not have a special pocketbook, but put the bills in their coca pouch, where they may be easily torn, and, secondly, because many are in the habit of burying their money or hiding it somewhere. In this way the bills soon become moldy, whereas hard money lasts a long time. The latter is therefore extremely rare in the entire Tierradentro area.

435 437 In the barter of foodstuffs there are certain rates that everybody knows. Since, furthermore, they always make an effort to furnish only satisfactory goods, there are no exaggerated claims or any reason for bargaining or haggling. It is simply: either-or, especially since market phenomena have no effects, and the barter rates are in no way increased in times of shortage or want. Thus, at the time of my visit, sheep and therefore wool were very

/216 cont./

114 Further linguistic notes were collected by H. Pittier de
192 Fábrega. These supplemented Castillo's vocabulary and gram-
193 matical data. H. Lehmann published examples of sentences of the Paez from Pitayó collected by French missionaries.

197 /217/ In a comparative study based on the aforementioned
114 publications, H. Beuchat and P. Rivet investigated the linguistic classification of Paez within the language groups of Colombia and classified it in the southwestern group of the six Chibcha language groups. (These Chibcha-speaking tribes correspond neither archeologically nor ethnologically to the true Chibcha (Mwiska) of the savanna of Bogotá!)

124 The linguistic material presented in the following is ex-
126 tremely fragmentary. The data given, however, were for the
197 most part checked several times. The difficulties of linguistic recording lay, aside from the brief time at our disposal, in the lack of grammatical training of the interpreter, who otherwise spoke Spanish very well, but who, during dictation or in translations, often said the same sentence entirely differently when repeating it; possibly because he could translate it better this way. When his attention was called to this, the stereotyped answer was: "One can say it that way, too" or "that is the way we speak." Another thing was that the interpreter was able to summon up the unusual mental concentration for linguistic recording for only two or at most three hours daily, distributed over the forenoon and afternoon.

a) Phonetics

194 As a result of the location of the individual villages in iso-
[197] lated valleys, the pronunciation varies slightly from place to
[124] place. Since we started with the Paez of Calderas in our collection of ethnological data, the following word list was also made with my Calderun interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ.

In the Paez alphabet the complete palatal range, which includes all consonants, is noteworthy. Almost as numerous are the consonant combinations with the English "w." In the

193 /224 cont./

no one: tĕčanyópa; tĕčanyópa máhiméta, "no one is working";

several, various: ko; ãtya ko hímba hipt, "I several horses have";

many: tak; tak nása, "many people";

little: wé; very little: táwala wéha.

193 114 [177] [797] Verbs: The infinitive forms of the verbs end in -ya. The only data thus far published about the conjugation system are to be found in Castillo i Orosco, who conjugates the verb "to write" in all paradigms according to Latin grammar. The word formation of the model verb and the conjugation are artificial and set up for teaching at the mission schools. People do not speak that way in Calderas.

193 124 177 The conjugations of a few verbs given in the following do not represent all the conjugation possibilities, since -- as was mentioned -- the interpreter lacked a knowledge of Spanish grammar. Hence the schema of the paradigms is largely theoretical. Everyday speech is different, and especially in storytelling the interpreter used forms which he reproduced in Spanish with participial constructions. Nevertheless the forms reproduced here are /225/ "correct" in the sense that one "can" speak this way and be understood while using the forms.

193 [124] Besides the four tenses reproduced here (present, future, and two forms of the perfect), there are probably also forms corresponding to the conjunctive, which, however, the interpreter neither understood nor was able to reproduce in Spanish. The forms of the future are not always used. Very often the present is used with the addition of "tomorrow" or "later," for example, ãtya gwágwan kúskay, "I speak tomorrow," instead of ãtya gwágwahípt, "I shall speak." The forms of the two past tenses are apparently used arbitrarily. To my questions on this point I always merely received the answer: "one can say it this way and also that way." Here, too, the addition of ónna, "yesterday" (in context: ónnaha), or esé, "some time ago," is customary.

● [126] The abstract, consecutive listing of the forms of a conjugation is hardly possible for the Paez. I always had to make

/225 cont./

193 inquiries with reference to examples that were easily comprehensible.
126 If these lay outside of the context just discussed, I was often requested to provide the appropriate form myself, which I always succeeded in doing with the help of my examples, to the joyful surprise of the Paez. Their confirmation in each case, that "one can say it that way, too," permits me to set down the following
193 paradigms. Phonetic discrepancies are purposely retained, for
129 example, in the second person singular the endings -eg and -eng, in the third person plural the endings -yin or -yen. In the present, the first and third persons singular are generally the same. The personal pronouns for all forms are placed before the verb. In the model verbs the feminine form of the first person singular and the various forms of the second person singular were omitted in favor of the simple masculine forms.

193 ōpya, "to live"

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present: | ātya ōpon | Future: | ātya apohípt |
| | inç ōponeng | | inç opohípeneng |
| | kya ōpon | | kya opohípa |
| | kweš ōpontkaw | | kweš opohíptaw |
| | kyáñweš ōpotyin | | kyáñweš opohíptyin |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Perfect: | ātya ōpokot | or: | ópnast | (óñnaha) |
| | inç ōpoing | or: | opnásing | (óñnaha) |
| | kya ōpok | or: | ópnasa | (óñnaha) |
| | kweš ōpotaw | or: | ópnastaw | (óñnaha) |
| | kyáñweš ōpotç | or: | ópnastyin | (óñnaha) |

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15



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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5. | *Tats* | *tats* |
| 6. | *Sanki* | *tesets, tesekẋ* |
| 7. | *Ens-sanki* | |
| 8. | *Tek-sanki, puki-pans* | |
| 9. | *Pans-sanki* | |
| 10. | *Kose-pemba* | *ksemba* |
| 20. | *Ens-kose-pemba* | |
| 30. | *Tek-kose-pemba* | |
| 40. | *Pans-kose-pemba* | |
| 100. | *Pasats-tla, vite-pasak* | |
| 1000. | *kose-pemba-pasats-tla* | |

As indicated by the above examples, the Paez Indians formerly counted upon their fingers, so that their numeration was necessarily decimal. It is difficult, not to say impossible, to determine the meaning of the word *sanki*, for 'six,' but it seems to have been, as Castillo expresses it, a base for the series between five and ten. Thus *ens-sanki*, means the 'second six'; *tek-sanki*, the 'third six'; *pans-sanki*, the 'fourth six.' We also find that *puki-pans*, a second expression for *eight*, means the 'return of four.'

*Kose-pemba*, ten, means 'the hands completed,' an expression similar to that found in many other primitive languages. At present this system is found only in a mutilated form, including the numerals one to six, and ten. For other numbers Spanish is used. *Vitetl* has become reduced to *tetl*; and another expression, meaning apparently 'second one' (*tetl-ens?*), has been substituted for *sanki*.

## IV. — Vocabulary

192
[526]

The following vocabulary includes all words collected by the author and not found in Castillo's work, and also expressions of the latter that complete families of words with a common root. *H* means Huila, and *T* Tacueyó, villages in which words were collected. *Cast.* signifies Castillo; *Span.*, Spanish.

| | |
|---|---|
| *a, au* (*aul, atl?*) | mine, my; our, ours |
| *a-ewẋ* (T), *ia-ewẋ* (H) | eye — Cast.: *ia-ß* |
| *d-ewẋ* (T), *gud-gua* (H) | *Inga edulis*, a tree |
| *alko* (Kithua word) | dog |